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234* 793 796 ●539 up, light the fire, warm himself, and then go out and sit on the same spot as on the previous evening. He remains there till the two *palol* come to him to continue the ceremony in which he is concerned.

When the *palol* rise they do their usual work, and when they have milked they perform a ceremony called *karkutkîr-siti*,[1] in which the calves are prayed for in the same way that the buffaloes were prayed for on the previous evening. The second *kaltmokh* collects the calves in the *pepkarmus*, or milking-place of the buffaloes, and the two *palol*, each with empty *kwoi* and with *kwoinörtpet*, pray as on the previous evening using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and some of the *kwarzam* of the gods, and then bawl out in a high key three times in order to scatter the calves.

The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* is then continued. Each of the *palol* takes the vessel used for ladling buttermilk (*mòrkudriki*); one *palol* fills his vessel with the milk of *punir* and the other fills with *nei* (clarified butter). Each leaves his dairy, and they both call to the *kaltmokh*, who comes to the threshold of the *ti poh*, and stands there while the two *palo*, mix the milk and *nei*. The *kaltmokh* is then told to hold out his hands, and each *palol* pours out the mixture into the hands of the boy, who rubs it over his head first, and then all over his body. After the *kaltmokh* has thus been bathed in milk and *nei*, the three people walk in procession to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been sitting, the *kaltmokh* going first, followed by the *wars palol* and the *ti palol* in order. As they walk, the two *palol* say the following words :—

Kôda	*md*;	*pîrzi*	*puti*	*vurmâ*;	*pah*	*erz*	*vurmâ*;
die	may (he);	tiger	catch	(him) may;	snake	bite	(him) may;
per	*pâdith*	*vurmâ*	*pâkh pâdith*	*vurmâ*	*pudi*
steep hill	fall down	(on him) may;	river	fall	(on him) may[2];	wild boar
erz	*md*;	*kâdr*	*pat*	*md*;	*kelrman*	*par*	*md*.
bite	may;	wild beast	hold (catch him)	may;	bear	carry (him) away	may.

[1] This word was translated "he prays for the calves." One verb is used in naming the ceremony of praying for the calves and another in the case of praying for the adult buffaloes.

[2] Probably this should be translated "may the river (when in flood) swallow him.

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When they come to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been given the food, the boy remains standing there while the two *palol* turn round and walk back in the dairy, saying:— 234x 793 796 539

K'ida md, idvait, ultimd; *pirzi par md,*
die may (he), as was said, may he be well; tiger carry away may,
idvait pava vdmd; *par par md, idvait,*
as was said, carry away may not; steep hill fall may, as was said,
pava vdmd; *pîk eri md, idvait, eria vdmd;* *pîkh par md,*
fall may not; snake bite may, as was said, bite may not; river fall may,
idvait, pava vdmd; *kâir pat md, idvait, pata*
as was said, fall may not; wild beast catch may, as was said, catch
vdmd; kadrmaa par md, idvait, pava vdmd;
may not; bear carry away may, as was said, carry away may not;
pudi eri md, idvait, eria vdmd.
wild boar bite may, as was said, bite may not.

The *ti palol* then enters his dairy and brings out an especially large ball of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, more than can possibly be eaten at one sitting. It is given to the *kaltmokh*, who sits on the same spot as before, and eats as much of it as he can. 234x 793 796

All this ceremony has been done after milking, and before drinking buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*), which is now poured out by the second *kaltmokh* for the *palol*, who then go about their usual business. When the first *kaltmokh* has eaten as much as he can of his ball of food he leaves it on the spot where he has been sitting, and goes with the *palol*. The Todas say that the food left behind will never be touched by the crows, who will eat any other food.

In the afternoon the *palol* transact their ordinary dairy business and the *kaltmokh* returns to his place and resumes the consumption of his ball of food, staying on the spot till the end of the day. When the two *palol* have gone into the sleeping hut for the night, the *kaltmokh* goes into the hut after them and may then talk to the other occupants, and after this follows the usual routine.

During the whole of this ceremony the *kaltmokh*, who takes so prominent a part in it, is called the *newrzutpol*.

At the other dairies of the Nôdrs *ti* a ceremony which is obviously closely connected with that which has been

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There are two chief reasons which induce a sorcerer to work his magic on another. One is when a request by the sorcerer for assistance has been met by deception. If the sorcerer asks a rich man for a buffalo, or for money, and the rich man refuses point-blank, it does not appear that the sorcerer proceeds farther; but if the rich man promises a gift and does not give it, or if he delays giving a positive answer and puts off a decision from day to day, it is a clear case for the application of occult measures. The other chief motive for sorcery is a quarrel with a sorcerer. The methods are different in the two cases. In the first case the sorcerer procures some human hair—it may be the hair of any one, even his own hair. It is not the hair of the man he wishes to injure because it would be impossible to get it. Five small stones are taken and tied together by means of the hair, and both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then, holding the stones and hair in his hand, the sorcerer utters the following incantation:—

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzin Tirshtin idith; ö tzu zati uddznddr;
those gods power if there be;
an nadr nadr uddznddr; an kar markhi pen nd; an ir thrgi pdti
his country country if there be; his calf sleep go may; his buffaloes wings grow
pdr nd; ath an nir nd pnk drku nir an nd; an nikh ar pnk
fly may; he I water drink as he also water drink may; I thirsty am as
drku nikhai nd; an airt pnk drku airth nd; an mokhu
he also thirsty be may; I hungry as he also hunger may; my children
idirth pnk an mokhu idr nd; an tammokh kdtu pdi pnk an
cry as his children cry may; my wife rugged cloth wear as his
tammokhu kdtu pdr nd.
wife rugged cloth wear may.

This incantation was freely rendered by Teitnir as follows: For the sake of Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;[1] may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go when the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be

[1] I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

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754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
789 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears
only a ragged cloth, so may his wife wear only a ragged
539 cloth.

When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the
791 hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

[782] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nadrvol*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nadrvol* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

ā ōrn nāllenāde, am nāḍr nāllenāde; tanad pan nā; tērm
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

ai pan nā; in ir kurk elm nālānd; an nann elm
become, go may; this buffalo calf to all be we?" my mind all

tebuthāpini, tan mannm tāll nā.
cleared from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nadrvarsh*.

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calves be well; I have now nothing evil in my mind, you must also have no evil in your mind. 754

Food is then given to the sorcerer, who also obtains the object for which he had originally asked. Later the sorcerer goes secretly to the hut of the man and takes out the stones and hair which he had hidden in the thatch. 789 539 791

In removing the spell the sorcerer does not mention the names of the four gods, but speaks of them as "those gods." The object of this is that the names of the four gods whom the sorcerer invokes shall not become generally known.

If any one quarrels with a sorcerer, the method adopted by the latter is different. He obtains a bone of a man, buffalo, or some other animal, or if unable to obtain a bone, he may use a lime. He sits, holding the bone or lime in his right hand, and utters the following incantation:—

Pithiaw Ön idith, Tuthirain Tirshin idith; a tan nati nalimdidr, an nidr nalimdidr; and pudra pirsh pat ud; and ud nidshidrh
to him will destroy disease come may; to him one incurable
pan pi ud; an kal mari and; an kai mdri dud;
sore come may; his leg broken may be; his hand broken may be;
an kan pudri dud; an ört mdrsh an kddipal dorkilud
his eye destroyed may be; his house into his family to all
nalitam pi ud; dth and nalitam karoni epi andn
trouble come may; he to me troubles did who accordingly to him also
nalitam ö ud; an nidr nali ul arikan d
troubles occur may; his country there is that we shall know those
kan nali ul kandan; i elv mulr alain
gods there is that we shall see; this bone into the ground what happens,
ul dilan all and.
that man to also happen may.

The only clause of this incantation of which the meaning is not clear is the penultimate, and the free rendering of this was said to be "as there are undoubtedly gods, we shall see all this happen"; it seems that *arikan*, which means literally "we shall know," is often used in the sense "without doubt." If he is using a lime, the sorcerer substitutes *örsimitch* for *elv* in the last clause.

The bone or lime is then buried in a wood near the village of the man who is to suffer the misfortune.

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754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
539 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer.
791 When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpuditht* to the sorcerer, and the spell is removed with the following words:—

tan uḍiṣṇḍr, an nḍr uḍiṣṇḍr; tanod pen mḍ; term ai pen mḍ[1]*; meḷḷ*
son

maḍrik an kuḍipel elmk; in mel en mans elm tuḷsvinem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in uḷi agi ḍmḍ; nav put, nudri put pen mḍ.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
754 removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
578 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide. In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

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in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tönemmd,		*törmämd;*		*atch*	*kar*	*tä*	*mä,*	*atch*
May it be well,		may it be well;		little	calf	give	may,	little
mokh	*tä*	*mä;*	*kar*	*kuldth,*		*kar*	*kuleiti*	*tä*
son	give	may;	calf	not refuse	milk,	calf	take milk	give
mä,	*kar*	*nesdth,*		*neseiti*	*tä*	*mä;*	*opath*	*ütm*
may,	calf	not kick away,		stand	give	may;	once	meal
dthi	*punerd*	*kwar*	*arki*	*madi;*		*nä*	*ärk mä;*	
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;		may there be	no disease;	
nnöri		*ärk mä;*		*kasun*		*ärk mä;*	*per*	
may there be		no trouble;		may there be		no *kasun;*	may there be	
ärk mä.								
no Tamil.								

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kasun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

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234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
765 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
787 second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
627 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals, having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising
765 the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarxam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

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other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars.

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedstkin* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli:—

Isa	*kûgk*	*ia*,[1]	*isa*	*kutei*,	*atâth*
O	woman	oh!	O	woman,	not born before
atia,	*pervoth*	*perpia*,	*pûv*	*irsimitch*	*ia*
you were born,	renowned	you were born,	flower	lime	oh!
pûv	*elet*	*ia*,	*kavath*	*kud*	*katethik*,
flower	(a bush)	oh!	proper husband (?)	found	you married,
patath	*kud*	*patiathenk*,	*tevukhk*		*nurs*
proper wife	found	I married,	(*kwarzam* of Piedr)	to	beautiful
îr	*notei*	*kadrthenk*,	*âtthkark*	*nurs*	*mokh*
buffalo	looked	I gave, (*kwarzam* of Kuudr)	to	beautiful	woman
notei	*patiathenk*,	*kuteia*	*mun*	*kutenathuk*,	*kokiji*[2]
looked	I married,	built	house	we built,	imitation bracelets
kis	*narsiathûk*	*kûter*		*kis*	*narsiathûk*,
made	we played,	imitation buffalo horns		made	we played,
âr	*mokh*	*puchiathûk*,	*âr*	*îr*	*tû*
six	children	we would produce,	six	buffalo	pen
odathûk,	*orppasan* (?)	*oithik*	*pudrkwadr*		*ners*
we would enjoy,	liberal	you were,	umbrella tree		shade
oithik,	*irom*	*ed*	*ithothûk*,	*pukhom*	
you were,	we will live	that	we thought,	we will go together	
ed	*peithûk*,	*kalav*	*îr*	*kadathûk*,	*pha*
that	we went,	strong	buffalo	we bought,	?
tadri	*pasinthûk*	*tudu*	*athi*	*ed*	*kadrtethûk*,
pole	we beat,	fine	it is	that	we gave,
udi	*athi*	*ed*	*kadrt thûk*,	*kutei ath*	*kotei*
have	it is	that	we gave,	built	bungalow
peithûk,	*keirtith*	*keir*	*peithûk*,	*ô*	*katcheri*
we went,	running waters	reservoir	we went,	seven	courts (law)
peithûk	*pathk*	*muri*	*ithuthûk*,	*pash*	*it*
we went,	Tamil to	complaints	we spoke,	words	spoke

[1] This is also the usual vocative termination.

[2] *Kokeji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Breeks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of wire made by the Todas as a game.

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533 *pudth* *kisthûk* *pudth* *it* *pudth* *kisthûk*,
539 prize we won (made), prize spoke prize we won,
765 *ûkudrem* *ed* *thûk*, *kan* *udjem*
we will not be shaken that we said, eye we will not fear

ed *thûk*, *mûn* *ânem* *ed* *thûk*, *en* *it*
that we said, face ? that we said, me here

puckvînia, *en* *it* *ptskvînia*, *purs* *kan* *nîr*
keep you went, me here leave you went, right eye water

pirevînen, *purs* *mettûvi* *kurseivînen*, *patnenk* *kandnen*,
I shed, right nostril I smart, I bewailed I could not find,

pesodutkenk *kandnen*, *enk* *ud* *swâmi* *aivînen*.[1]
I called out I could not find, to me one god I have.

The free translation of this is as follows:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a proper wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kwarsam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuudr man. The mention of injustice refers

[1] In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kwarsam*.

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to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan:—

Epukers	*ia!*		*alipukers*		*ia!*	*Podk*	*tadikk*	
Kwarzam of	*maiir*	oh!	*kwarzam* of	*maiir*	oh!	rattan	ring	
tr	*ia!*	*Pokk*	*kudcik*	*kinim*	*ia!*	*poivalei*	*muk*	*ia!*
buffalo	oh!	?	?	plate	oh!	?	?	oh!
keiveli	*mûdr*	*ia!*	*kapasth*	*kal*	*ia!*	*kûdukatith*	*kûdr*	*ia!*
necklace	neck	oh!	trousers	leg	oh!	car	horn	oh!
âna	*matu*	*ia!*	*arzkan*	*mudr*	*ia!*	*atamdv*		*ia!*
elephant	foot	oh!	European	walk	oh!	sambhar		oh!
nurs	*trk*		*kan*	*âkithenk,*		*kalochikum*		*ed*
beautiful	buffalo to		eye	I kept,		old woman to (?)		that
thînk,	*kalôkum*		*ed*	*thînk*		*inâtvidshti*	*inâtvan,*	
they said,	old man to (?)		that	they said,		*kwarzam* of	Kars clan,	
iza	*kâra*	*ê*	*vûr*	*kada,*		*pûrvankâra!*		
O	chief	seven	village	chief,		conqueror oh!		
pudrvantol[1]	*ia!*	*kavathâra!*		*Kavanadi*	*pali*	*put*		
peace-loving man	oh!	strong man oh!		Kavanadi	dairy	carried		
eia!	*tê*	*vut*	*tâli*	*ia!*	*atûth*		*ud*	
oh!	pen	carried	posts	oh!	not born before		one	
atithîk,	*pervoth*	*ud*	*pertithîk,*	*pûa*	*kûtm*			
you were born,	renowned	one	you were born,	?	council			
pancithîk	*xaver*	*khithîk,*	*ter*	*ud*	*âlk*			
you held,	money fine	you imposed,	buffalo fine	one	man to			
adsthîk	*mokk*	*ud*	*âlk*	*kisathîk,*	*maifr*			
you told,	girl	one	to man	you made,	barren buffaloes			
kadk	*peithîk,*	*pirer*	*mûlk*	*peithîk*				
in the midst	you went,	buffalo	to the neck	you went,				

[1] A play on Pidrvan's name.

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pudr	*ðdicki*	*peithk,*	*pan*	*ertevlthk,*			
chosen number	beat	you went,	chosen number	you ran before,			
kal	*öt*	*ðdithk*	*peiveli pileidik*	*ninth*	*ud*	*kalvi*	
leg	dance	you danced	? ?	your	one	new things	
kisethk,	*ninth*	*ud*	*kek*	*kisethk,*	*id*	*kan*	
you made,	your	one	invention	you made,	to-day	eye	
mün	*övini,*	*Kars*	*kasun*	*podtha?*	*parsners*		
face	I saw,	Kars	*kasun*	has it come?	*kwarsam* of *kasun*		
podtha?	*methködis*	*mai*	*kovisivini*	*ösöratrs*	*kargh*		
has it come?	burning-place at	ashes	heaped,	*asaram* at	grass		
patevini.[1]							
grew up.							

The first part of this lament begins with the *kwarsam* of the *maiir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *kwarsam* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.[2] O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

[1] As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted in the same as that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'th,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the lingual 'ṭ,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

[2] For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing." 533 539 765

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*. 234 783

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner. 793 765 778

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played.

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform.

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *werat*. The following are examples:—

Mers illâth karthti, poi illâth âdti? Mâ, nelu.
Udder without milks, mouth without drinks? Rain, earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Urk mers illâth, kâdak kal illâth, athinu? Kûdi, poi.
In (or to) village udder without, in forest leg without, what is it? Hen, snake.

Kerâd mokh perâd aiu, perâd mokh kerâd ain? Kûdr, kevi.
Little son big becomes, big son little becomes? Horn, ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pîv pûvadi, kaim kaimadi? Tûf.
Flower does not blossom, berry does not ripen? Fern.

Wârâdr nolm, mokh pachtam, pîr drchtam, ithithanithi ank? Pishkimân.
Whole year days, son begetting, pregnant, this is custom to it?

Pishkimân is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

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Purkárinúdr adetpoloṭiki? Kúdi kúgiti.
Calls out if why that says no? Cock crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nelu tiri kai, pon tiri pûv? Elu.
Earth goes round fruit, sky goes round flower? The tip-cat game.

Mudál pîr vatvai, pin marsvati; pin pîr
First pregnant who becomes, later is delivered; later pregnant

vatvai, mudál marsvati? Támi, kodj.
who becomes, first is delivered? A grain, barley.

Tami or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter
538 on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are
[195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kütēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pett*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Ámuddga seruvē,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tiliwā.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

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* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tiruti Mund the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzāram* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 250. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhūt, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhūts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

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"oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

A Pekkan man, Kinisven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us, "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pālkhis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill*,* *and Nīlanēri hill*,† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

Up to this point I had to extract Kinisven's information piecemeal, but afterwards, finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda, great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mīttāhāl mund, near the top of the Sugūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Coonoond road.

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First Story.

A Pekkan* Ēn, and his wife who was with child, went from Kūltul mand to Okadnâdmand. The husband brought fibres of a thorn tree, and in due course the wife brought forth a pumpkin!† The Pekkan said, "What! this child is dead, we must make a *Kéd*." They made a *Kéd*, and when the fire touched the pumpkin it split in two, and one half contained a male child; they brought it to Ootacamund, and it lived there, until one day the father found it playing in the kraal, and blew some dust on it, when it became a kite, and flew away. In those days the gods used to assemble on Doddabett, and the kite used to sit with them. One day the gods took counsel, saying "Why does the kite come here, let us drive him out;" so one of them, named Kodātha, took the kite home to Kodātha-betta (Hulikaldūrga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodātha's head, so that it split into three pieces. Again the kite joined the assembly of the gods, who said, "The kite does everything; will he turn backwards the stream of Piewakmund? will he catch hold of the sun?" The kite turned back the stream, and tried to catch the sun, first with iron, then with bell-metal chains, both of which melted; at last he made the hook and part of the chain with stone, and caught the sun, and brought it down to Nérvēnmand. Then the world was dark: then the gods went to the kite and said, "You are very great, let the sun go;" so he let the sun go, and the river return to its course.

Before death began, one Ēn, a Todi of Muttanâd Mand,‡ used to go to the other world and return, accompanied by Ponetwan of Okadnâdmand. One day when they were in the other world, the kite came and said to the people of Okadnâdmand, "Ēn and Ponetwan will not return, therefore tie bells to thirty buffaloes and make the *Kéd* ceremony on their account;" and they did so. As Ēn and Ponetwan returned, they met buffaloes with bells coming; so Ponetwan cried, "The kite has done this;" and he touched the buffaloes with his forehead and wept, and his tears became a spring of water; and he blew his nose and there sprang up a tree. Then both said, "They have killed buffaloes for us, we must go back to the other world;" so they went, and took the buffaloes with them. Afterwards a man died in a circle of stones on the right hand side of the road to Kalhatti.§ People tried to lift the body, but could not, so they burnt him there. As there were no posts to the circle, they made women with rice-pounders stand at the entrance all night, and next day the buffaloes were killed.

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* A Pekkan of Manjakal Mand.

† Comp. *Ramayana*, book 1, chap. xl. Soumati, the wife of king Sagara of Ayodhya, gave birth to a pumpkin, which broke, and from it issued the 60,000 sons she had been promised. Afterwards the 60,000 were reduced to ashes in an encounter with Vishnu, but obtained Swarga on being sprinkled by the Ganges, by the advice of Garuda, whose appearance seems to make it possible that the Toda story may really be a corruption of this very old legend.

‡ To the left hand of the Segūr road, near the top of the Ghāt close to Seven Cairn hill. The "Boa" (*Plate* XIII.) is at this mand, which from the position it holds in all these stories, I imagine to be one of the oldest.

§ Nearly opposite Muttanâd Mand. There are several circles here, some apparently kraals. I dug out the circle built on rock and found that it had nowhere more than a foot of soil above the rock, so that the posts could not have been fixed. There are many *Asārams* on a neighbouring hill, and the place seems to have been an old funeral mand. This story looks like an invention to account for this abortive kraal, when the real story was forgotten.

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As the Paikāra *Tiriari* buffaloes had gone with Ēn and Ponetwan, Pūrsh, Ēn's daughter, went to the other world and brought them back. But when they returned, they said, "We will not give you our milk, Pūrsh; let our calves have it." Pūrsh went and told this to Ēn, who said, "Give the *Tōd* tree bark to the buffaloes, and they will cease to speak, and you can take their milk." Again, Pūrsh went to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left in the other world; but Ēn said, "You left them here, and I will not give them back: use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the kafle flower,* and do not come here any more."

When Ēn was gone, there was no head of the Todas, so Pūrsh was made head; and she lived at Muttanâd temple (*Plate* XIII.), and established the *Pâlâls*, *Tiriaris*, *Mands*, and *Boas*. One day an army of horsemen from Mysore came near; when Pūrsh heard of it she said, "Let them all become stones;" so they were turned into stones;† but a few escaped. After this another troop came, and halted at Segūr. Four of them came up the hill, captured a Todi, and asked him, "Who turned the first army into stones?" and they bribed him to tell them of Pūrsh's curse. Then the Mysoreans returned and told their chief; and he said, "Take mutton, and throw it at Pūrsh's door, and the flesh will expel the god." They did so, and Pūrsh came out like a fire, and was transformed into the hill behind Muttanâd Mand.‡ Then the Mysoreans came up and plundered the Todas. Before this time the Todas used to see and speak to their gods, but from the time Pūrsh disappeared, and from the day that a Toda betrayed his people, the gods are seen no more of men.

Second Story.

Kotēn, Tekudi, and Elna were three brothers, who lived respectively at Hona Mand, Tārnāt Mand (*Plate* VIII.), and Muttanâd Mand.§ The wife of the former cursed her husband, saying, "You possess no *Kotagiri*, no *Tiriari*." Kotēn went to his brother and said, "I am cursed, I can't eat or go to the house; give me a *Tiriari* and some Kotas." Then Tekudi gave him a *Tiriari* bell and buffaloes from the Muttanâd *Tiriari*, and Elna gave him a Kota man and woman.

Kotēn went off with these to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pâlâls*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by Todas Mērkōkâl.‖

When the Paikara Pâlâl drove Elna's buffaloes to the Sholūr Tiriari, where the god Ênta presides, the buffaloes refused to go, and said they could not go without the bell which Tekudi had taken. The Pâlâl told Elna, who told Ênta. He said he would give a stick, which was to be given to a Pekkan of Manjakal Mund, who was to take a horn to be cut from the head of a living buffalo, and blow it in front, when the buffaloes would follow. Even now when the Paikara buffaloes go to the Sholūr Tiriari, a Pekkan must go in front with a horn, and the horn is blown every evening when the Pâlâl has finished his meal. Ênta added that he would kill Tekudi by a bow and arrow within eight days.

* Such as the Todas still use. Two are seen in *Plate* IX. leaning against the hut.

† A variety of this story is connected with some upright stones, apparently slabs from a half-destroyed cairn, near Mr. Findlay's plantation at Kodanâd. Mr. Findlay tells me that he was told by a Toda, that these were once soldiers who insulted the Pâlâl of a neighbouring Tiriari, whereupon he threw some milk over them and turned them into stones.

‡ The hill nearest Muttanâd Mand is Seven Cairn Hill, connected with the story of Dirkish.

§ All these mands belong to the Todl clan, which is the largest, and possibly the oldest from its position in these stories.

‖ Mērkōkâl means the Kota village of the Kūndahs. Mēr is the Toda for Kūndahs, and Kōkâl for Kota village.

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As Tekudi came from Tarnâṭ Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air.

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Târnâṭ Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotên went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shîma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotên returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotên slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring§ and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotên and Têrkosh, on the Sisapâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotên.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

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* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shîma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nirvên, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotên's ring. Nirvên claims to be a direct descendant of Kotên. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodîtha, Pûrah, Kotên, and Têrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Maleswaramalê.

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

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539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pālols*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Ādram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnād Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Ámundd*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pújá** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Ámundd*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Ámundd*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted
173 above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but
771 which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of which we find many traces.

114 If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

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* *Pújá*, worship.

some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poǰjoıǰ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

A note on the semantics of the word poǰjoıǰ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poǰ." The most usual meaning of poǰ is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called ɑıs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ūmd-voǰjoıǰoıvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ūmd) poǰ (i.e. poǰjoıǰ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poǰjoıǰ institution. The semantic development of poǰ should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poǰjoıǰ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poǰjoıǰ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paḷḷi, "building, temple."

As was said above, there are at present five sets of poǰjoıǰ among the toırðɑs. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinɑl of the kerɑmroıǰ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kūɑtæmboǰjoıǰ or oırvɑtʂɣɑıkvoǰjoıǰ is said to be descended from kūɑtæm (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poǰjoıǰ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oır) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɑtʂ). A crow (kɑık) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðɑtkoıtʃvoǰvoǰjoıǰ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukoɾðurktoɪɾjvmɨvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukoɾ swamp" or moɪvɣoɪɲoðmöʃɣüðɾɪvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukveɲvotsvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called pulɪʧvoʃjoɪʃ. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this poʃjoɪʃ had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning ɑɾtsti, "she is passionate," and the noun ɑɾikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element pulɪʧ–, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six poʃjoɪʃ of the töüvɪʃj survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of küɯɪsjɣümɪɾ of the koʃemoɪʃ (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The üɑɪvɑɣðɯɾɪspodjvæɪʈoɪɖjvojvoʃjoɪʃ," people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the üɑɪvux swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called nöɪɲgoɪʈkvɑɾlɣɑɾtjvojvoʃjoɪʃ,"people of the house of those who sent fuel to nöɪɲgoɪɾ." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oɪɾvmʈɣeɪɾjvoʃjoɪʃ. The story is the same as for the oɪɾvɯʈɣɑɪkvoʃjoɪʃ of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeɪɾj, to which the element keɪɾj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevɯɪtɣoltjvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (æɪɾɣɯmtt, "act of killing male buffalo").[1] A fifth is called kuður-ɣoɪlvɑʃjtʧetɑpeʃköðkjvojvoʃjoɪʃ,"people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called öɪnööökörkoʃvɯɲæɪtpɯɪʈvɯrkɯʈvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the ti; dairy called öɪnöö broke

[1] See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poljoiʃ among the todàs -- Analyst]

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
537 poɭjoiɭ are forbidden to become poɭoiɭ to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moɣɜutkoiɪ ʃvojvoɭjoiɭ of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kŭudzul, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poɭjoiɭ should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ŭudmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoiɭ of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ŭudmortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poɭjoiɭ or his ŭudmortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognisance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuɲ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

[See pp 106 and 107, cat. 539 -- Analyst]

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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikâra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikâra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikâra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikára river.

733 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[1196] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

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538 was not included in the programme of sports got up for our benefit. Dr. Rivers writes that "the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport." I have, on several occasions, come across young children playing with long and short pieces of twigs representing buffaloes and their calves, and going solemnly through the various incidents in the daily life of these animals. Todas, both old and young, may constantly be seen twisting flexible twigs into representations of buffaloes' heads and horns.

539 Of Toda songs, the following have been collected :—

Sunshine is increasing. Mist is fast gathering. Rain may come. Thunder roars. Clouds are gathering.

Rain is pouring. Wind and rain have combined.

Oh, powerful god, may everything prosper!

May charity increase!

May the buffaloes become pregnant!

See that the buffaloes have calves.

See that the barren women have children.

Go and tell this to the god of the land.

Keygamor, Eygamor (names of buffaloes).

Evening is approaching. The buffaloes are coming.

The calves also have returned.

The buffaloes are saluted.

The dairy-man beats the calves with his stick.

Milk has been offered to the bell.

It is growing dark.

This is a buffalo with beautiful horns.

A buffalo stupidly given away by the Badaga.

A buffalo brought to the Kândal mand.

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Innerovya (name of buffalo).
Like this buffalo there is no other.
Parkūr (name of a Toda).
Like him there is no man.
The sun is shining. The wind is blowing.
Rain is coming. The trees are in flower.
Tears are falling. The nose is burning.
He is coming, holding up his umbrella.
He is coming, wearing a good body-cloth.
He is coming, wearing a good under-cloth.
He (the palol) is coming, wearing a black cloth.
He is coming, holding his walking-stick of palai wood.
I have a god. What is to become of me?
I am inclined to cry, my heart being heavy.
Oh, my child! Do not cry. It is still crying.
Thuree. Thuree. See. Be quiet.
A robust bull buffallo. Ach! Ach!
A big buffalo not intended for killing. Ach! Ach!
Is leading the cow buffalo. Ah! Ah!
Two or three men are driving it. Ah! Ah!

Song in honour of the arrival of the Maharāni-Regent of Mysore at Ootacamund.

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All we Todas go to her house, and dance before her.
She gives us fifteen rupees.
She comes near our women, and talks to them.
She gives cloths to us.
Next day we take milk, eight bottles in the morning, four in the evening.
Month by month she pays us for our milk.
She goes back to Mysore, and, when she goes, we stand in a row before her.

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539 [648] She gives us presents; cloths and three rupees.
The women cut their hair, and stand before her.

Marriage Song.

Boys and girls are singing.
Much money are they spending.
To the girl her father is giving five buffaloes.
The husband tells his wife that she must curl her hair.
If her hair is curled, all the people will rejoice.
The buffalo is slain, and now we must all dance.
Why are not more people here? More should come.
My buffalo is big, very big.
Go quickly and catch it.
The Todas are all there. They are standing in a row.
Who will run, and catch the buffalo first?
To him will a present of five rupees be given.
I will go and catch it first.
The Todas are all fighting.
The Todas are all feasting.
People give them rice.
The buffalo is coming. Two men run to catch it by the neck.
Ten men collect the buffaloes. They pen them in a kraal.
At one o'clock we take our food.
The buffalo is running, and I hit it on the back with a stick.
It swerves aside, but I drive it back to the path.
Night comes, and we all dance.
Next morning at ten o'clock we bring out the buffalo, and slay it.

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At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it.
At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.
At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793
He lights the lamp.
At eight he milks his buffaloes.
He puts on no cloth.
He places butter and ghi before the god.
Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.
Then he puts on his cloth.
At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.
He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.
He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.
He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.
He alone may sleep in the temple.
At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.
At seven he milks them.
The woman's house is down the hill.
The priest must not go in unto the woman.
He may not marry.
When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.
Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 114 771 177 788

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and no:ṛ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

no:ṛo:selm	ku:ṭjuθno:ṛ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tõuo:selm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(no:ṛ), the sacred place to which the goddess tö:kiŋ gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moreθarm	kumṛtmθno:ṛ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mreθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

no:ṛexu:ḍtk	pi:mθno:ṛ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tõueno:ṛtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund my:nj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tõuθuṭ, the tõuno:ṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tõuno:ṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tõuno:ṛ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; pa:rnuːrθõu, puːṭpuːrθõu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuaŋm)" of the mund my:nj, which is pa:rnma, said to mean "the standing-place (nma) of the 1600 gods (represented by pa:r for pa:rnuːr)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojo:/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noïkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnir (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter orliz had married pi:/kor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mör patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kör(k)-korpoj "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pus-ut or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 330.

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pərmaxθur,[2] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kejniɪ asked what it was he was told: il-θon-uji puɪɪrotj-noɪj yst "It is just here that the puɪɪrotj-noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poɟoɪ̯-xuɪɪɟojoɪ̯ ũud-mortk-fæɪdfoj-xuɪɪɟojoɪ̯ɳ puɪɪrotj-noɪj ysti; poɟoɪ̯ ɳoɪɳjti; oɪtoɪ̯ xurəti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɪɪrotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poɟoɪ̯ feel shame; the oɪtoɪ̯ laugh.' " The word poɟoɪ̯ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪ̯ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poɟoɪ̯ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪ̯, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poɟoɪ̯ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poɟoɪ̯ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪškj (cf. the verb noɪɳjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪɾ patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kuɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

puɪlkũɯɪrθoɪr	poɟoɪ̯-ɳoɪškj	oɪjxũɯθum
pærθoɪr	oɪtoɪ̯-ɳoɪɳ	oɪjxũɯθum
noɪɖoɪ̯ʃk-noɪškj		oɪjxũɯθum
sɪmjoɪ̯ʃk-eig		oɪjxũɯθum

"The toɪroɪɾ patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poɟoɪ̯, the oɪtoɪ̯, the people of the country (noɪɖoɪ̯), the people of the district (sɪmjoɪ̯; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poɟoɪ̯ and the oɪtoɪ̯ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poɟoɪ̯ and oɪtoɪ̯ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[2] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmanabhaiah: pp. 398–400); his account is in general incomplete.

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

poɟoɨ̯-ɲoɪ̈kj	æɪfɯnen
oɪtoɨ̯-foɲt	æɪfɯnen
noɪtoɨ̯-ɲoɪ̈kj	æɪfɯnen
sɪmjoɨ̯-sig	æɪfɯnen

"I have become ashamed before the poɟoɨ̯; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oɪtoɨ̯; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oɪtoɨ̯ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poɟoɨ̯ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poɟoɨ̯ and the oɪtoɨ̯ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poɟoɨ̯k-noɪ̈kj	æɪfɯnen
oɪtoɨ̯k-foɲt	æɪfɯnen

"I have become ashamed before the poɟoɨ̯; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪtoɨ̯." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poɟoɨ̯ and oɪtoɨ̯, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way.

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Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poɟoɨ̯-ɲoɪ̈kj	æɪfɯnɯm
oɪtoɨ̯-foɲt	æɪfɯnɯm

"We have become ashamed before the poɟoɨ̯, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪtoɨ̯." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poɟoɨ̯ and oɪtoɨ̯ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poɟoɨ̯ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

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The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

noɭkanɯɨk	aydj-mil-aydj	puɪtɯθik		
poɭjoɯɭ-xoɪrjm	oɪtoɯɭ-foɲt	öɪtjɯɖoɪ	ɯdɯθik	
om arjeɲ	enk öɪtoθ	aotj-moɪɖkin	ɯdɯθuŋg	noɪrɲɯsfum

"You sent message after message to the mund omgoɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poɭjoɯɭ.' Noɪrɲɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poɭjoɯɭ, oɪtoɯɭ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poɲt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poɭjoɯɭ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[32] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɯɭ-foɲt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noɪrɲɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poɭjoɯɭ, is to be explained.

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On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poɭjoɯɭ, oɪtoɯɭ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poɭjoɯɭ, oɪtoɯɭ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

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It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪrɲɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[32] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.